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A Political History of the State of New York, 1865-1869. By HOMER ADOLPH STEBBINS, LL.B., Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LV., no. 1.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. 477.)

THE author's text is that in the quadrennium, 1865-1869, the state of New York "was in the process of a political reconstruction, which corresponds with and bears relationship to the wider early Reconstruction period in the South" (p. 407). This assertion is qualified in the preface by the observation that the Northern wave of disturbance in the reconstruction period was caused by political more than by social or economic disorders, and "was especially noticeable in the reorganization of political parties".

In the body of the work we find that the author's view of the political reconstruction of New York state brings into light two distinctive features. The first one was the effort of the more moderate Democratic party leaders, notably Dean Richmond, to free the party from the odium of its former doctrine that "the war is a failure", and to win the co-operation of the conservative Republican leaders in opposition to the Wade-Sumner-Stevens theories of Southern reconstruction, if not in active support of the later Johnsonian policies. The second salient feature was the rise of Tammany Hall to the leadership of the Democratic party in the state, a process completed by the fraudulent election of John T. Hoffman to the gubernatorial chair in 1868. These two movements are displayed chiefly in the discussions of four state campaigns, drawn from the columns of twenty-two newspapers, eight of them being the leading journals in New York city. Among the remaining fourteen the author stresses the testimony and editorial opinions of two Albany papers, the *Evening Journal* (Charles E. Smith), and the *Argus* (William Cassidy), of the *Utica Morning Herald* (Ellis H. Roberts), of the *Syracuse Daily Journal* (Carroll E. Smith), and of the *Rochester Union and Advertiser* (William Purcell).

It will thus be seen that Dr. Stebbins has adopted unreservedly the form of historical composition in which Professor McMaster was the pioneer, and his work displays both the virtues and defects of that method. He may be right in rejecting the memoirs and biographies of the period as of little value, but he is even more contemptuous of the information that might have been obtained from politicians and leaders of that age who still survive. He feels more confidence in a comparison of the opinions of the chosen editors. Therefore of the thirteen chapters that constitute the bulk of this volume, ten are devoted to the newspaper accounts of successive state elections; three of these chapters deal with the choice of minor state officers in 1865 and 1867, two with the gubernatorial election of 1866, four with the state and national campaign of 1868, and one with the first election of Conkling to the Senate in 1867.

Of the remaining four chapters, the first one in the book rushes through a "Social and Economic Survey of New York at the Close of the Civil War" (15 pages), the concluding chapter gives a brief summary of the narrative, one long chapter does full justice to the ill-starred constitutional convention of 1867, and one chapter, the best in the book, is entitled the Alliance of Wall Street and the Legislature. It contains the ever-stirring story of the contest between Drew and Vanderbilt over the Erie railway.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Stebbins chose to make this his only free excursion into the fertile territory of Big Business in politics. At the beginning of his account of the national nominating conventions of 1868, he labels such topics as "the excise, political personalities, the Tweed ring, the canal frauds and the Erie scandal", as "matters of local interest".

Surely in a political history of the state of New York, these are the matters of fundamental importance, and national politics may be often slurred over.

Page 279 contains the positive assertion that "from 1865 to 1870 the New York legislature was the plaything of the 'Rings'". Very true, but except for the glimpse of the Erie war, this book reveals but little of that sport. Here was an opportunity for an adequate analysis of the personnel of the two Republican factions and especially of the crowd that followed that great little man, Fenton; for an investigation of the ramifications of the unsavory Canal Ring among the machines of both parties; for something more than a fragmentary portrayal of the well-defined factions in New York city and Brooklyn and in Erie and Albany counties. To the rapid and lively narrative with which Congressman Alexander speeded through this same period in the third volume of his *Political History of the State of New York* Dr. Stebbins has added much that is valuable in detailed statement and in amplified discussion.

The bibliographical note is well done and the index is complete. There is a misprint in the second line on page 287, and, on page 300, a second glance is necessary to recognize under the name, Lewis F. Payne, that redoubtable champion and representative of the ancient régime, Louis F. Payn.

The full tale of Fenton and Weed and Conkling on the one side, and Seymour, Richmond, and Tweed on the other is yet to be told within one pair of covers.

C. H. L.

Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz.

Selected and edited by FREDERIC BANCROFT, on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee. In six volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. Pp. xviii, 522; vii, 534; xiv, 508; xix, 528; xii, 531; xi, 496.)

A MAN of "unshaken courage, who knew no such thing as compromise on a principle, who never lost faith in American self-government;